

## Message Text

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R 261008Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1194  
INFO AMCONSUL BOMBAY  
AMCONSUL CALCUTTA  
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO  
AMEMBASSY DACCA  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY KABUL  
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU  
AMCONSUL MADRAS  
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 NEW DELHI 6549

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, IN  
SUBJECT: GROWING LAW AND ORDER TROUBLES

REF: NEW DELHI 5855

1. SUMMARY: LAW AND ORDER, AND ITS APPARENT DETERIORATION DURING  
13 MONTHS OF JANATA PARTY RULE, HAS BECOME A VERY LIVE ISSUE IN  
INDIA. DESPITE PRONOUNCEMENTS TO THE CONTRARY BY HOME MINISTER  
CHARAN SINGH, THERE IS A GROWING POPULAR PERCEPTION THAT STRIKES,  
RIOTS, DEMONSTRATIONS AND OTHER VIOLENT INCIDENTS ARE ON THE IN-  
CREASE AND THAT AUTHORITIES AT ALL LEVELS SEEM INCAPABLE OF  
DEALING WITH THESE TROUBLES. MUCH OF THE PUBLIC CONCERN EVIDENTLY  
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DERIVES FROM A COMPARISON WITH THE APPARENT PEACE AND TRANQUILITY  
OF THE EMERGENCY ERA. SENSATIONALIST COVERAGE BY A SOMETIMES  
IRRESPONSIBLE PRESS ALSO HEIGHTENS THE PERCEPTION THAT THE SIT-  
UATION IS GETTING OUT OF HAND. OVERALL, THE LAW AND ORDER SITUA-

TION AROUND THE COUNTRY IS NEVEN AND IS NOT SUBJECT TO EASY  
GENERALIZATIONS: WITH SEVERAL NOTABLE EXCEPTIONS, THE SOUTH HAS

BEEN RELATIVELY PEACEFUL. WESTERN AND CENTRAL INDIA HAVE WITNESSED AN INCREASE IN LABOR DISORDERS, BUT NO SERIOUS INSTANCES OF OTHER DISTURBANCES. TEN MONTHS OF LEFT FRONT RULE IN WEST BENGAL HAVE BEEN GENERALLY PEACE-FUL--AT LEAST IN RELATION TO CALCUTTA'S TURBULENT PAST. BIHAR AND U.P; HOWEVER, HAVE EXPERIENCED GRAVE LAW AND ORDER TROUBLES. INDIA'S TWO MOST POPULOUS (AND POLITICALLY IMPORTANT) STATES ARE RULED BY WEAK-WILLED AND INCOMPETENT JANATA CHIEF MINISTERS WHO ARE INCAPABLE OF SETTING THEIR OWN HOUSES IN ORDER-- MUCHLESS DEALING EFFECTIVELY WITH ESCALATING LAWLESSNESS. A VARIETY OF FACTORS SEEM TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE LAW AND ORDER PROBLEM, NOT THE LEAST OF WHICH IS THE RELEASE OF TENSIONS AND GRIEVANCES SUPPRESSED DURING THE EMERGENCY. IN ADDITION, MISTRUST ENGENDERED DURING THE EMERGENCY APPEARS TO HAVE SERIOUSLY AFFECTED THE ABILITY OF POLICE TO MAINTAIN PUBLIC ORDER. ALTHOUGH THE INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE AND DISORDER ARE SEEMINGLY UNRELATED, THERE IS TO THEM A COMMON THREAD WHICH WE FIND DISTURBING: WE BELIEVE THAT TRADITIONAL SOURCES OF AUTHORITY HAVE SUFFERED A DIMINUTION OF THEIR PRESTIGE. SHOULD THIS TREND DEVELOP, IT WILL OBVIOUSLY BECOME A MAJOR PART OF THE RECORD ON WHICH THE NATIONAL JANATA WILL BE JUDGED, EVEN THOUGH MAINTENANCE OF PUBLIC ORDER IS PRIMARILY A STATE RESPONSIBILITY. END SUMMARY

2. DURING THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS, THE EMBASSY AND THE CONGENS HAVE REPORTED A SERIES OF CLASHES, RIOTS AND OTHER OUTBREAKS OF VIOLENCE WHICH HAVE BEEN OCCURRING AROUND THE COUNTRY. THESE INCIDENTS HAVE BEEN WIDELY REPORTED IN THE PRESS, AND THE

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CUMULATIVE EFFECT HAS BEEN TO CREATE A WIDESPREAD PERCEPTION OF A RAPIDLY AND SERIOUSLY DETERIORATING LAW AND ORDER SITUATION IN INDIA. FURTHER PUBLIC ATTENTION HAS BEEN FOCUSSED ON THIS ISSUE AS A RESULT OF ACRIMONIOUS DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT AND THROUGH HIGHLY-PUBLICIZED TOURS TO AFFECTED AREAS BY FORMER PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI. THESE, OF COURSE, ARE PERCEIVED AS EFFORTS BY THE OPPOSITION TO EXPLOIT THE ISSUE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE JANATA PARTY IN GENERAL AND HOME MINISTER CHARAN SINGH IN PARTICULAR. NONETHELESS, THERE DOES SEEM TO BE GROWING CONCERN THAT THE SITUATION IS GETTING OUT OF CONTROL AND THAT THE GOI AND THE STATE GOVTS ARE INCAPABLE OF COPING EFFECTIVELY WITH LAW AND ORDER TROUBLES. PRESIDENT SANJIVA REDDY HIMSELF RECENTLY GAVE VOICE TO THIS GENRAL CONCERN WHEN HE TOLD A DELHI AUDIENCE THAT HE WAS "DISTRESSED AT THE STATE OF HEALTH OF THE COUNTRY". HE ADDED: "I WONDER WHERE WE ARE GOING. I MYSELF DONT KNOW, AND I HAPPEN TO BE THE PRESIDENT". REDDY'S OFF-THE-CUFF REMARKS WERE PROMPTED BY NEWS ACCOUNTS OF THE AMRITSAR AND PATNAGAR INCIDENTS (REFTEL). HOME MINISTER CHARAN SINGHEVIDENTLY FELT THAT THE PANTNAGAR OUTBREAK WAS SERIOUS ENOUGH TO WARRANT HIS TRAVELLING TO LUCKNOW, THE CAPITAL OF U.P; FOR A PERSONAL ASSESSMENT. THIS MESSAGE, PREPARED IN COLLABORATION WITH CONGENS, SEEKS TO ASSESS THE NATURE OF THE LAW AND ORDER "PROBLEM" AND ITS IMPACT UPON

THE JANATA PARTY AND GOVT.

3. THE LAW AND ORDER ISSUE HAS SEVERAL DIMENSIONS RANGING FROM SIMPLE STREET CRIME ALL THE WAY UP TO COMMUNAL/CASTE RIOTS INVOLVING POLICE FIRINGS. IN BETWEEN, THE "PROBLEM" INCLUDES DEMONSTRATIONS BY STUDENTS, STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS IN INDUSTRIAL FACILITIES, PROTESTS BY AGRICULTURAL WORKERS AND CLASHES BETWEEN RIVAL POLITICAL GROUPS. NEWSPAPER REPORTS SUGGEST THAT THE GENERAL TREND IN THE PAST YEAR HAS BEEN AN INCREASE IN INCIDENTS INVOLVING ALL OF THESE DIMENSIONS. HOWEVER, HOME MINISTER CHARAN SINGH HAS CITED STATISTICS IN PARLIAMENT TO DEMONSTRATE THAT OUT-BREAKS OF VIOLENCE HAVE NOT APPRECIABLY INCREASED IN NUMBER OR FREQUENCY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 NEW DELHI 6549

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DURING THE ONE YEAR OF JANATA RULE FROM THE LEVEL PREVAILING DURING PRE-EMERGENCY YEARS OF CONGRESS RULE. HE HAS ALSO SUGGESTED THAT BREAKDOWNS OF LAW AND ORDER OCCURRED FREQUENTLY DURING THE EMERGENCY ITSELF, BUT WERE NOT WIDELY PUBLICIZED DUE TO PRESS CENSORSHIP.

4. THE EMBASSY IS NOT IN A POSITION TO COMPARE LAW AND ORDER STATISTICS OF THE PRE AND POST-EMERGENCY PERIODS. THIS, IN ANY EVENT, IS NOT OF PRIME IMPORTANCE TO THE ISSUE AT HAND: WHAT IS IMPORTANT FROM A POLITICAL VIEWPOINT IS THAT-- CHARAN SING'S PRONOUNCEMENTS NOTWITHSTANDING--THE POPULAR PERCEPTION HAS GROWN THAT LAW AND ORDER IS NOW A SERIOUS PROBLEM. THIS PERCEPTION NATURALLY IS COLORED BY THE EMERGENCY EXPERIENCE, DURING WHICH TIME  
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APPARENT TRANQUILITY PREVAILED. THIS TRANQUILITY WAS AT BEST SUPERFICIAL, BUT VIEWED THROUGH THE PRISM OF THE EMERGENCY PERIOD, WHAT IS GOING ON TODAY SEEMS TO BE A SERIOUS DETERIORATION. THIS POPULAR PERCEPTION HAS NO DOUBT BEEN ENHANCED BY THE SENSATIONALIST COVERAGE OF CRIME STORIES, STUDENT STRIKES, LABOR UNREST AND "ATROCITIES" ON HARIJANS WHICH IS FOUND IN A FREE AND AT TIMES IRRESPONSIBLE PRESS.

5. OVERALL, THE LAW AND ORDER SITUATION AROUND INDIA IS UNEVEN AND CANNOT BE SUBJECT TO QUICK AND EASY GENERALIZATIONS.

(A) IN THE SOUTH, FOR EXAMPLE, THERE HAVE BEEN ONLY TWO MAJOR OUTBREAKS OF VIOLENCE RESULTING IN DEATHS IN RECENT MONTHS: ONE IN TAMIL NADU INVOLVING AGITATING AGRICULTURAL WORKERS AND THE OTHER IN HYDERABAD RESULTING FROM A CASE OF ALLEGED POLICE BRUTALITY. BOTH, HOWEVER, ARE SEEN AS ISOLATED INCIDENTS WITH NO CONNECTION TO EACH OTHER OR THE REST OF THE SOUTH-- MUCH LESS TO THE NATIONAL PATTERN AS A WHOLE. IN CONTRAST TO OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, CONGEN MADRAS REPORTS THAT THERE HAVE BEEN FEW INSTANCES OF STUDENT UNREST OR HARIJAN ABUSE IN THE SOUTH.

(B) ACCORDING TO CONGEN BOMBAY, THE LAW AND ORDER SITUATION IN WESTERN AND CENTRAL INDIA IS BY NO MEANS SATISFACTORY BUT HAS NOT, IN COMPARISON TO OTHER REGIONS, DETERIORATED TO THE POINT OF BEING A SERIOUS PROBLEM. STATISTICS SUGGEST THAT STREET CRIME IN BOMBAY IS DOWN FROM PREVIOUS YEARS WHEN POPULATION INCREASES ARE FACTORED INTO THE EQUATION. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CONSENSUS IS THAT ATROCITIES AGAINST HARIJANS ARE ON THE INCREASE, BUT STATISTICAL DATA TO COMPARE AGAINST PREVIOUS YEARS ARE LACKING. LABOR VIOLENCE IN WESTERN INDIA IS ON THE RISE--AT LEAST AS COMPARED TO THE EMERGENCY PERIOD. BOMBAY ADDS THAT THE ABSENCE OF ANY MAJOR COMMUNAL CLASHES MAY BE SIMPLY A MATTER OF LUCK.

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(C) CONGEN CALCUTTA REPORTS THAT THE FIRST TEN MONTHS OF LEFT FRONT RULE IN WEST BENGAL HAVE BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY RELATIVE

PEACE IN CALCUTTA AS WELL AS IN THE COUNTRY-SIDE. DISORDERS HAVE OCCURRED IN THE UNIVERSITIES, BUT ON THE LABOR FRONT STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS HAVE BEEN GENERALLY PEACEFUL-- AT LEAST COMPARED TO THE PATTERN OF PREVIOUS YEARS. ON THE POLITICAL PLANE, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ONE VIOLENT CONFRONTATION BETWEEN POLICE AND CONGRESS (I) DEMONSTRATORS IN FRONT OF CALCUTTA'S WRITERS BUILDING ON APRIL 12, POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE CONDUCTED THEIR ACTIVITIES WITHOUT INCIDENT. STREET CRIME IN CALCUTTA IS GENERALLY PERCEIVED TO BE AT A TOLERABLE LEVEL.

6. BIHAR AND U.P; HOWEVER, ARE AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT MATTER. INDIA'S TWO MOST POPULOUS STATES HAVE BEEN THE SCENE OF INNUMERABLE COMMUNAL CLASHES, POLICE FIRINGS, VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS AND LARGE-SCALE LABOR AND STUDENT UNREST. IN ADDITION, BIHAR AND U. P. HAVE WITNESSED MANY ALLGED AGROCITIES ON HARIJANS. MORE DISTURBING THAN THE SHEER NUMBERS OF THESE INCIDENTS, HOWEVER, IS THE APPARENT INABILITY OF THE TWO JANATA STATE GOVTS TO DEAL WITH THE TROUBLES. CHIEF MINISTERS KARPOORI THAKUR AND RAM NARESH ARE INCOMPETENT ADMINISTRATORS WHO SEEM TO BE HELPLESS SPECTATORS OF A RAPIDLY DETERIORATING SITUATION. THEY ARE FACED WITH CHRONIC DISSIDENCE WITHIN THEIR OWN RANKS AS WELL AS A LAW AND ORDER SITUATION WHICH SEEMS TO HAVE GOTTEN OUT OF CONTROL.

7. IN BIHAR, POVERTY, OVERPOPULATION, AND HISTORICALLY PROFOUND CASTE AND CLASS DIVISIONS GIVE THE STATE IMMENSE LATENT PROBLEMS OF PUBLIC ORDER. THESE ARE INCREASINGLY COMING TO THE SURFACE UNDER THAKUR'S INCOMPETENT LEADERSHIP. THE STATE'S UNIVERSITIES HAVE BEEN CLOSED FOR THE BETTER PART OF THE LAST FEW MONTHS. DACOITIES, ASSAULTS AND MURDERS ARE ENDEMIC. THE JAILS ARE OVERFLOWING WITH PRISONERS AWAITING TRIAL. AND LABOR UNREST HAS REACHED THE POINT WHERE MORE MANHOURS WERE LOST IN BIHAR BETWEEN JULY AND DECEMBER 1977 THAN IN MADHYA PRADESH, WEST BENGAL, U.P. AND RAJASTHAN TAKEN TOGETHER DURING THE SAME PERIOD. THE SITUATION HAS BEEN COMPOUNDED BY THE STATE GOVERNMENT'S

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POLICY OF RESERVING JOBS FOR BACKWARD CASTE MEMBERS (SEE NEW DELHI 4173, 4194). THIS ISSUE OF JOB RESERVATION HAS IGNITED THE ALREADY EXPLOSIVE TENSIONS WHICH ARE INHERENT IN BIHAR'S FEUDAL SOCIETY.

8. U.P; AN EQUALLY BACKWARD AND CASTE-RIDDEN STATE, SUFFERS FROM THE SAME MALADIES WHICH AFFLICT BIHAR. THE TOTAL INCAPACITY OF CHIEF MINISTER YADAV TO SET HIS OWN JANATA HOUSE IN ORDER, MUCH LESS DEAL WITH INCREASING LAWLESSNESS, HAS BECOME ALL TOO EVIDENT. THE LEADERSHIP VACUUM AT THE TOP CAN NO LONGER BE IGNORED BY EVEN THE NORMALLY UNPERTURBED CHARAN SINGH. IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE HOME MINISTER'S RECENT VISIT TO LUCKNOW, THERE IS NOW A STRONG LIKELIHOOD THAT YADAV WILL BE EASED OUT IN THE NEAR FUTURE, PERHAPS SHORTLY AFTER THE IMPORTANT MAY 7 LOK SABHA BY-ELECTION IN AZAMGARH DISTRICT.

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9. HOWEVER, WEAK AND VACILLATING CHIEF MINISTERS ARE ONLY ONE ASPECT OF THE LAW AND ORDER CRISIS GRIPPING BIHAR AND U.P. AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, OTHER PARTS OF INDIA. IN THE NORTH, THE JANATA'S IMAGE AS A PARTY OF LANDED INTERESTS MAY BE A MAJOR FACTOR BEHIND SOME OF THE RURAL CLASHES. THERE IS MUCH TO BE SAID FOR THE ARGUMENT THAT RURAL LAND-OWNING CLASSES VIEW THE JANATA AS "THEIR" GOVT AND CONSEQUENTLY FEEL FREE TO STRENGTHEN THEIR GRIP ON HARIJANS AND THE LANDLESS WITHOUT FEAR OF RETRIBUTION FROM THE AUTHORITIES. ANOTHER FACTOR IN THE APPARENT GROWING LAWLESSNESS IS THE SEEMING INABILITY OF NATIONAL JANATA LEADERS TO COPE WITH THE PROBLEMS. THERE IS MUCH ANGUISHED WRINGING OF HANDS, BUT THE JANATA HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO PROJECT AN IMAGE OF BEING ABLE TO DEAL WITH THE ROOT CAUSES OF THE DISORDERS.

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IN ADDITION, IN THE CASE OF BIHAR THE JANATA STATE GOVT'S JOB RESERVATION POLICY HAS EXACERBATED TENSIONS BETWEEN THE SO-CALLED "FORWARD" AND "BACKWARD" CASTES.

10. THE ENDING OF THE EMERGENCY AND THE JANATA'S RESTORATION OF DEMOCRATIC NORMS HAVE UNDOUBTEDLY BEEN A FACTOR AS WELL. THOSE HOLD IN CHECK DURING THE EMERGENCY, ESPECIALLY LABOR GROUPS, NOW FEEL FREE TO TAKE THEIR GRIEVANCES TO THE STREETS THROUGH DEMONSTRATIONS, STRIKES, PROTEST MARCHES AND SITINS. ANY ONE OF THESE CAN BE EASILY TRIGGERED INTO A RIOT OR POLICE FIRING. IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE RETURN TO A FREE AND OPEN SOCIETY IN INDIA HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY IRRESPONSIBILITY ON THE PART OF SOME OF THOSE WHOM THIS VERY RESTORATION WAS DESIGNED TO BENEFIT. IT IS PERHAPS INEVITABLE THAT THIS RELEASE OF FRUSTRATIONS AND GRIEVANCES HAS BEEN ALL THE MORE PRONOUNCED FOLLOWING THEIR ARTIFICIAL SUPPRESSION DURING 19 MONTHS OF EMERGENCY RULE.

11. THE EMERGENCY EXPERIENCE APPEARS TO HAVE SERIOUSLY AFFECTED THE ABILITY OF INDIA'S SECURITY SERVICES TO ENSURE PUBLIC ORDER. THIS MAY BE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR WHY SO MANY DEMONSTRATIONS END UP AS "POLICE RIOTS" ACCOMPANIED BY INDISCRIMINATE SHOOTING. ON THE ONE HAND, PUBLIC MISTRUST OF AND EVEN ENMITY TOWARDS THE POLICE MAY BE AT AN ALL-TIME HIGH DUE TO THEIR ROLE IN ENFORCING THE STRICTURES OF EMERGENCY RULE, PARTICULARLY SUCH MEASURES AS FORCIBLE STERILIZATION. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE POLICE ARE REPORTED TO BE DEMORALIZED BY ACCUSATIONS FROM CURRENT POLITICAL FIXTURES OF THEIR COMPLICITY IN ADMINISTERING THE EMERGENCY. THEIR MORAL IS ALSO BEING DAMAGED BY THE FREQUENT, ABRUPT AND SEEMINGLY ARBITRARY TRANSFER OF SENIOR POLICE OFFICERS. THESE TWO SIDES OF THE EMERGENCY COIN, COMBINED WITH THE TRADITIONAL LACK OF ADEQUATE TRAINING AND DISCIPLINE AMONG ORDINARY POLICEMEN ( ESPECIALLY IN RURAL AREAS), UNDOUBTEDLY CONTRIBUTE TO PRECARIOUS

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SITUATIONS WHICH CAN QUICKLY ESCALATE WHEN DEMONSTRATORS AND POLICE CONFRONT EACH OTHER. (CONGEN CALCUTA POINTS OUT IN ADDITION THAT IN SUCH STATES AS BIHAR THE LARGELY HIGH-CASTE COMPOSITION OF THE POLICE FORCES SERVES FURTHER TO HEIGHTEN TENSIONS DURING CONFRONTATIONS.)

12. THE ASSESSMENT OF THE CONGENS, WHICH WE SHARE, IS THAT THE GROWING LAW AND ORDER TROUBLES IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY SEEM TO BE UNRELATED. IN MOST CASES, INCIDENTS TEND TO BE ISOLATED, LOCALIZED ONES CENTERED AROUND THE PARTICULAR GRIEVANCES OF PARTICULAR GROUPS. MANY AGITATIONS INVOLVE ACTS OF COMMISSION OR OMISSION BY STATE GOVTS OR, MORE LIKELY, LOCAL AUTHORITIES. POLICIES OR ACTIONS OF THE NATIONAL GOVT DO NOT APPEAR

TO FIGURE IN THE DISTURBANCES. THE STATE-WIDE STIR LAUNCHED IN BIHAR OVER THE RESERVATION ISSUE IS ONE EXCEPTION TO THIS PATTERN, BUT EVEN IN THAT CASE THE FOCUS OF ATTENTION IS ON STATE, NOT NATIONAL, POLICY. INsofar AS A NATIONAL PATTERN IS DETECTABLE AT ALL, IT IS PROBABLY IN CONNECTION WITH THE "ATROCITIES" COMMITTED ON HARIJANS. EVEN THESE, HOWEVER, ARE THE PRODUCT OF THE CASTE GROUPINGS IN THE DISTURBED AREAS.

13. WHILE THE INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE DO NOT APPEAR TO BE MUTUALLY INSPIRED, THERE IS ONETHELESS A COMMON THREAD TO THEM WHICH WE CAN FIND DISTURBING. AS NOTED ABOVE, THE AUTHORITY OF THE POLICE HAS BEEN UNDERMINED BY THE EMERGENCY EXPERIENCE. WE BELIEVE THAT OTHER SOURCES OF AUTHORITY-- OF LAW AND ORDER-- HAVE ALSO SUFFERED A DIMINUTION OF THEIR PRESTIGE. IN THE FIRST PLACE, GOVT IN THE WIDEST SENSE HAS LOST AUTHORITY. THIS IS A RESULT OF THE EXCESSES OF GOVT DURING THE EMERGENCY, HEIGHTENED BY THE POOR PERFORMANCE OF THE JANATA AT ALL LEVELS TO DATE. BUT THE PROBLEM GOES BEYOND THAT. AT THE INDUSTRIAL WORK PLACE, THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY FITURES ON BOTH THE LABOR AND MANAGEMENT SIDES HAVE BEEN WEAKENED. WORKERS OFTEN ACT IN DISREGARD OF THE UNION LEADERS, WHO ARE FORCED TO "CATCH UP" WITH WORKER DEMANDS. ASSAULTS AGAINST FOREMEN AND OTHER MANAGEMENT OFFICIALS, BOTH AT THE FACTORIES AND OUTSIDE BYDISGRUNTLED  
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WORKERS HAVE BECOME FREQUENT. THE DIFFERENCE WE DETECT NOW IS THAT WHETHER IT BE STUDENTS, FACTORY WORKERS, HARIJANS OR OTHERS, THERE SEEMS TO BE A GREATER WILLINGNESS ON THE PART OF THE AGGRIEVED TO RESORT TO DIRECT ACTION. WHILE THIS MAY BEGIN PEACEFULLY, IT SEEMS TO LEND ITSELF TO VIOLENCE, AS THE OTHER SIDE RESORTS TO ITS OWN DIRECT ACTION.

14. AS BEST AS WE AND THE CONGENS CAN TELL, THE LAW AND ORDER PROBLEM IS FAR FROM BEING OF CRISIS PROPORTIONS WHEN VIEWED NATIONALLY. HOWEVER, THE DETERIORATION OF THE AUTHORITY OF THOSE WHO HAVE TRADITINALLY MAINTAINED LAW AND ORDER CONTAINS THE SEEDS OF AN EVEN MORE SERIOUS PROBLEM. SHOULD THIS DEVELOP, IT WILL OBVIOUSLY BECOME A MAJOR PART OF THE RECORD ON WHICH THE NATIONAL JANATA WILL BE JUDGED, EVEN THOUGH THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER IS PRIMARILY A RESPONSIBILITY OF THE STATE  
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